CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

A Newsletter on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage

Number 1 Spring, 1978

THE STORY OF ANNA

Patricia Krafcik

One day in 1914, sixteen-year-old Anna Bujdoš embraced her mother warmly and kissed her tear-stained cheeks and lips. Then, clutching a small bundle of belongings and food, she took her place on the back of an open horse-drawn cart and let her legs swing down over the side in rhythm with the cart's rocking movement. Tears stung her eyes as the cart pulled away from her village, Ruská Vol'a. She gave a last long look at the humble wood and white-washed house, the rolling mountains in the distance, and at her mother waving and calling out "Come back soon!" Come back soon—but in her mother's strong face, Anna read a different message: If my life has been hard, God grant that you make yours better. Live now not for me, live for yourself, your children, and your grandchildren.

At this moment of departure, however, Anna needed the comfort of knowing that she would return. After a long journey across an ocean, she would meet her own people in New York and New Jersey (these were still only strange place-names to her), find work, and then take her income back home to help her family. All this at sixteen years of age? To me now, her granddaughter, this seems inconceivable, but it seemed perfectly possible to Anna and to thousands of young men and women like her. To them this was an adventure, pursued, of course, not without some apprehension. But the whole world lay out there! News of the opportunity of a new life kept streaming into the small Rusyn villages tucked among the foothills of the Carpathians. Success stories—jobs, land, freedom—spread rapidly from village to village. Meanwhile, rumors of war and mandatory conscription into the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Army only added to the already electric atmosphere. The time to test the American promise was now.

Like the majority of young people, Anna never did return to her village. The years passed, and her mother's silent words—Make a better life for yourself and your children—became her inspiration. In the new land, she met and married a young man from a neighboring village in the old country, Mychajlo Čerkala, who still dreamed of the green hills and the wild mountains brimming with legends of wonderful bandit heroes who protected the Rusyn people from the demands of unscrupulous rulers not of their own blood... But Mychajlo also shared Anna's dream of a better life. And the new dream was stronger than the old.

Mychajlo worked in the Pennsylvania mines for a time—long enough to suffer for it later with lung disease. Life, folk wisdom tells us, is never without its contradictions. Good and bad come together like two sides of the same coin. The young couple settled in Cleveland, Ohio, in a neighborhood of their own people clustered, as always, around a parish church. Here, continuing to cope with a foreign language and foreign customs, they reared a daughter and two sons on generous amounts of pirohy, holupky, and love. With their children they spoke one of the Rusyn dialects which they referred to lovingly as *po-našomu* ("in our manner"). The Depression came, the war came. Daughter Anne worked in a war plant while keeping the home together. Jon, an Army officer, witnessed the strategic Battle of the Bulge. Michael, a Naval officer, saw action on the Pacific front, and served (using his knowledge of language) as a liaison between the American and Soviet Russian Navies. And thus did the new Carpatho-Rusyn Americans contribute to the war effort of their adopted land.

After the war, daughter Anne married a Marine officer whose parents had emigrated from Košice in Slovakia, not so far away from her parents' native villages. Anne and John spoke American English, but enjoyed communicating with each other in what had been their first languages—she in a Rusyn dialect, he in Slovak. And from this marriage—from thousands of such marriages—has emerged the third generation on American soil. And now, secure in our being Americans, we dream again of the mountains, the secret streams, the bandit-heroes of the native land of our Annas and Mychajlos.

But our interest in ethnicity is not limited to dreaming. Now we can explore Rusyn ethnicity in academic surroundings, by observing and recording those traditions to which our people still cling in this country and in the old country, and by studying the language of our parents and grandparents. The Rusyn cultural heritage is rich and varied. It is a precious possession which we can preserve by sharing it with each other. Let us, the young people, together with our parents and our grandparents dedicate this newsletter to that endeavor.

Alexander Duchnovyč (1803-1865)

Every nationality has some great leader that is considered the father of his people. Among Carpatho-Rusyns that person is Alexander Duchnovyč. Because of his dominant role in the nineteenth-century Subcarpathian national renaissance, Duchnovyč has been remembered as the "national awakener of the Carpatho-Rusyns."

Duchnovyč was born in 1803 in the village of Topol'a (Zemplyn county) within the Rusyn-inhabited Prešov Region of present-day eastern Slovakia. He attended the Greek Catholic seminary in Užhorod and was soon after ordained into the priesthood. Like other students at the time, Duchnovyč was educated in the Magyar and Latin languages and was expected to be a Hungarian patriot. The young clergyman realized, however, that his Rusyn people were linguistically and culturally related to other eastern Slavs and that they were in dire need of enlightenment. He frequently stated that "a people without an education cannot call itself a people." To help change this situation, he published a *Reader for Beginners* (1847), the first school textbook published in the local Rusyn vernacular (i.e., spoken speech).

The revolutionary years of 1848-1849 really allowed for the development of Duchnovyč's national activity. He set up the first cultural organization for Carpatho-Rusyns (the Prešov Literary Society, 1850), published the first annual literary almanacs (*Greetings for the Rusyns*, 1850-1856), and wrote a popular poem ("Subcarpathian Rusyns, Arise from your Deep Slumber") which was to become the national anthem. He also composed a grammar, a book on pedagogy, a history of the Prešov Diocese, and a history of the Carpatho-Rusyn people.

Duchnovyč wrote these influential works in different languages, depending on for whom they were intended. In his poetry, plays, and school textbooks meant for the people, he used the Rusyn vernacular of his native region. For his histories, critical essays, and sermons, he used either Latin or a language called Slaveno-Rusyn, which was Church-Slavonic mixed with some Carpatho-Rusyn vernacular and sometimes Great Russian words.

The Carpatho-Rusyn people have not forgotten the father of their nation. After 1919, when Subcarpathian Rus' became a semiautonomous province of Czechoslovakia, statues to Duchnovyč were erected in Sevljuš (1925), Užhorod (1929), Chust (1931), and the largest in Prešov (1933), which still stands on the main square of that city. Even Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants erected a statue to Duchnovyč in the nationalities park in Cleveland, Ohio. Finally, at the one-hundreth anniversary of his death (1965), a three-day scholarly conference was held in Prešov, and one of his plays was revived for the repertoire of the local professional Carpatho-Rusyn theater. Duchnovyč would have been pleased by such developments. And he would have felt his life-long work was really worth the effort if his people and their descendents both in Europe and America could always recall the opening lines to his most famous poem, "Vručanie" (Dedication, 1851):

I was, am, and will be a Rusyn
I will not forget my honorable lineage,
And will remain its son.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Paul R. Magocsi, *Let's Speak Rusyn—Bisidujme po-rus'ky* (Englewood, New Jersey: Transworld Publishers, 1976), xxii and 106 pages, $6.95.

Carpatho-Rusyn spoken dialects are often divided by linguists into three groups. The westernmost, the Lemkian, is spoken in the Prešov Region of Eastern Slovakia which consists of parts of the former Hungarian counties of Spiš (Hungarian: Szepes), Šariš (Sáros), and Zemplin (Zemplén). The Transcarpathian or South Bojkian group, is spoken in the central and western section of the Transcarpathian Oblast' of the Soviet Ukraine, former Už (Ung) and Bereg (Bereg) counties. The easternmost dialect, the Hucul, is spoken in the eastern portion of former Marmarŏs (Máramarŏs) county. These dialects belong to the East Slavic language group, but have been influenced greatly by the peoples who lived near the Rusyns—Magyars, Poles, Romanians, and Slovaks.

Since most Rusyn immigrants to America came from Eastern Slovakia, Dr. Paul R. Magocsi of Harvard University has chosen the Lemkian dialect for this elementary phrase book. He recorded the speech of older residents of the village of Vyšná Jablonka, since the speech of young people is heavily Slovakicized. Vyšná Jablonka is located in Eastern Slovakia, a few kilometers from the Polish border in the former Zemplin county. The result is a presentation of actual Carpatho-Rusyn speech and not an artificial language.

This last point should be stressed. Previous works on the Carpatho-Rusyn dialects were attempts to make Carpatho-Rusyn conform to a literary language, usually Great Russian. Father Joseph Hanulya's grammar and Dr. Peter I. Maczkov's primers, for instance, utilized Russian grammar and vocabulary. To this day, the Slavic-language sections of such American Carpatho-Rusyn newspapers as the *Church Messenger* and *Greek Catholic Union Messenger* are frequently in the Russian version of the spoken tongue. Magocsi has avoided this situation in his book. The result is a presentation of authentic Carpatho-Rusyn speech.

Let's Speak Rusyn is divided into twenty-six chapters, each including a series of phrases dealing with a given subject. Examples are: Greetings, Introductions, Church, Meals, and Civil Affairs. There is even a chapter of incorrect usages found in America, typically an English loan word with a Slavic ending, for instance, *kara* (car) and *štor* (store). Rusyns are not alone in possessing these hybrid speech patterns. They are found, as H. L. Mencken noted some years ago, among all immigrants. Thus, Italian immigrants say *fixare* (to fix) and Slovak immigrants will say that they work *vo majne* (in the mine).

Extremely valuable are the grammatical notes containing declensions of adjectives, nouns, and pronouns; verb conjugations; and lists of frequently used adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions. Resourceful students will be able both to learn to speak the dialect and to compare Rusyn grammar to that of other Slavic languages. Incidentally, the Rusyn phrases are presented in both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets.

Carpatho-Rusyn Americans will want to obtain this phrasebook, find another student or an immigrant to practice with, master the language, and gain an empathy for the culture of their ancestors. Slavic linguists will find the work valuable, for it is a clear, systematic rendering of actual Carpatho-Rusyn speech. One might on a few occasions fault Magocsi's English translations which sometimes deviate from the literal, but this is a minor shortcoming, for the book is very carefully researched and prepared. This reviewer awaits the forthcoming Transcarpathian version.

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LANGUAGE

Carpatho-Rusyn has no standard literary form as do languages such as English, French, and German, but is composed of several dialects which differ somewhat from one another while remaining mutually understandable. The dialect used in the following phrases is spoken in the village of Vyšná Jablonka, located in northeastern Czechoslovakia. The pronunciation guide represents a close approximation of the authentic sound. Using the guide, practice these phrases of greeting until you know them by memory.

Hello.	Sláva Isúsu Chrýstu. (Sláh-vah Ee-sú-su Khrí-stu.)
(response)	Sláva na víky. (Sláh-vah nah vée-kuh.)

(This most traditional greeting and response in the Rusyn dialects means literally: Praise be to Jesus Christ. Praise forever.)

Good day.	Dóbrȳj dyn'. (Dóh-bree din.)
Good morning.	Dóbre ráno. (Dóh-bre ráh-noh.)
Good evening.	Dóbrȳj véčur. (Dóh-bree vé-chur.)
Welcome.	Vitájte. (Vee-tá͡hy-te.)

NOTES ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF SUBCARPATHIAN RUS'

Despite its exotic-sounding name, Subcarpathian Rus', or Carpatho-Ruthenia, is located in the heart of Europe. In fact, if we look at the map of the European Continent as it stretches from the Irish and Portuguese coasts in the west to the Ural Mountains in the east, and from the Cape of Norway in the north to the island of Crete in the south, we see that Subcarpathian Rus' falls in the very middle of that land mass. At the present time, the territory is just within the westernmost borders of the Soviet Union and is officially known as the Transcarpathian Oblast' of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Rusyns also inhabit the northeastern corner of Slovakia, in an area popularly known as the Prešov Region.

A glance at any atlas will reveal how Eastern Europe is divided into three geographic zones. The first is the Polish plain beginning in the west from the Netherlands across northern Germany and stretching eastward through Poland, Belorussia, and Russia as far as the Ural Mountains. The second zone is that of the Danubian Basin, which is delineated roughly by the Carpathian mountain chain and includes Slovakia, Subcarpathian Rus', Hungary, northeastern Yugoslavia, and Transylvania in Romania. The third zone is the mountainous region known as the Balkans, which includes the rest of Yugoslavia, southern and eastern Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece.

It is in the second zone, that is, in the Danubian Basin, where we find subcarpathian Rus'. For almost 800 years, the region was an integral part of the Hungarian Kingdom, which itself was divided into 50 counties (known as *megye* in Magyar). The Rusyn word for county is *župa*. Spread throughout these various counties were many peoples—Magyars, Slovaks, Romanians, Germans, Croats, Serbs, and Carpatho-Rusyns. The Carpatho-Rusyns lived primarily in the northern counties of Spiš, Šaryš, Zemplyn, Už, Bereg, Ugoča, and Marmaroš.

In the 1920s, the historical counties were abolished as administrative units, and replaced by a system of smaller-sized counties. At present, these are known as *okresy* in Slovakia. Carpatho-Rusyns live in parts of the Poprad, Prešov, Bardejov, and Humenné *okresy*. In the Transcarpathian Oblast' of the Soviet Ukraine, the counties are known as *rajony* and there are thirteen of them: Velykyj Bereznyj, Perečyn, Užhorod, Volovec', Svaljava, Mukačevo,

Berehovo, Mižhir"ja, Iršava, Vynohradiv, Chust, Tjačiv, and Rachiv.

With regard to terrain, the lands where Rusyns live are the foothills and mountainous regions of the Carpathian Mountains. Their villages are located along several river valleys. From west to east the major rivers are the Poprad, Torysa, Topl'a, Ondava, Laborec, Už, Latorycja, Boržava, Rika, Tereblja, Teresva, Bila Tysa, and Čorna Tysa. These rivers generally run in a north-south direction, and all eventually flow into the Tysa (in Magyar: Tisza) River. Along the northern edge of Rusyn-inhabited territory, there are nine passes through the mountains that lead into Galicia, and although some of these were historically used as communication routes, Rusyn villagers for the most part gravitated southward down the rivers toward the lowland plain whenever they sought work or commerce in the markets and towns.

The Carpatho-Rusyns have historically been a rural people engaged in agriculture, sheep-herding, and forestry. In 1910, 89.6 percent of the populace were engaged in these pursuits, and by 1956, the percentage was still as high as 70. Moreover, until well into the twentieth century, 93 percent of Rusyns lived in settlements of less than 3000 inhabitants. Urban centers such as Užhorod, Mukačevo, Berehovo, Humenné, or Prešov, were in the main settled by Jews, Slovaks, and Magyars, and even today, with the exception perhaps of Užhorod and Mukačevo, only a small percentage of Carpatho-Rusyns live in cities.

According to the most recent statistics, there are about one million people living in the Carpatho-Rusyn homeland. Of these about 860,000 live in the Transcarpathian Oblast' of the Soviet Ukraine and about 140,000 in the Prešov Region of northeastern Slovakia. Several other nationalities have in the past lived within or adjacent to Carpatho-Rusyn ethnographic territory. Until their dispersion in 1944, many thousand Jews inhabited villages and nearby cities, and during the years between the two world wars several thousand Czechs worked as administrators in the region. Today, there still remain Gypsies living in the outskirts of many villages and Germans who continue to inhabit a few compact settlements. Finally, there are many Russian administrative and military personnel as well as Magyars in the Transcarpthian Oblast' and Slovaks in the administrative centers of the Prešov Region.

FOLK LIFE AND LORE

It is generally believed that "Pascha," a rich, golden bread, famous in Carpatho-Rusyn and other Slavic cultures, is meant to be baked and eaten exclusively at Easter. It's name corresponds to the Eastern Christian (Orthodox and Byzantine Rite) word for Easter which is Pascha, derived from the Hebrew Pesach, meaning Passover. The bread, however, can be prepared for other major religious observances, for instance, baptisms and weddings. It is a symbol, after all, of the celebration of new life. The following recipe makes three one-pound loaves or two one-and-a-half-pound loaves if a larger loaf is desired.

1 package dry yeast
1/4 cup warm water
l/2 tablespoon sugar
1 stick butter or margarine
1 1/2 cups warm milk
1/4 cup sugar (slightly more if sweeter bread is desired)
3 eggs
l/2 teaspoon iodized salt
1/2 teaspoon vanilla
5–7 cups flour (Sapphire or Robin Hood)
half a lemon peel, grated
1/2 cup golden raisins
1 egg combined with 1 tablespoon water

Soften yeast in warm water with sugar.
Melt butter; combine with warm milk and the 1/4 cup sugar; stir until dissolved.
Beat eggs with mixer in a large mixing bowl until frothy.
To the milk mixture, add salt, vanilla, and yeast.
Add alternately 2-3 cups of flour and the milk mixture to the egg mixture, mixing on lowest speed until bubbly. Lemon peel may be beaten in at this time.
Begin working in the rest of the flour by hand until dough leaves the hands. Raisins may now be kneaded in.
Cover and let rise in a warm place about 1-1 1/2 hours.
Punch dough down and let rise again until doubled, about 30–40 minutes.
Grease 3 one-pound bread pans, or casseroles or soufflé dishes for a round loaf (or 2 equivalent containers for larger loaves).
Divide dough into 2 or 3 pieces; knead each to form a smooth ball. Fit each into a baking container smooth side up. Cover and let rise in warm place until doubled in size, about 30 minutes.
Bake in preheated 350-degree oven on next to lowest rack, about 1 hour.
Bread should sound hollow when tapped if it is done.
Immediately brush tops of loaves all over with egg mixture.
Let cool for about 20 minutes, then ease out of containers.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

For many years people believed that the United States was a kind of melting pot in which people from all ethnic and racial backgrounds would merge together into some single common group called "American". This seemed to require that we forget the native language of our parents and grandparents if it was not English, discard their cultural traditions, slacken ties with their native land, and perhaps even reject their religious identity. The illusion of this "pure" American toward which we were supposed to strive has, at last, lived out its time. We have gradually begun to realize that to be an American does not demand from us a denial of our ethnic heritage. What makes us Americans is not conformity to some ambiguous standard or model, but precisely our variety and the precious opportunity to share with each other freely the wealth of our individual cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

New York City is the prime example of a place in which people of all backgrounds living side by side witness openly and proudly to their ethnic cultures. The Carpatho-Rusyns are one of these peoples. Situated neatly on the corner of East Tenth Street and Avenue A in the East Village of Manhattan—a traditionally Slavic area of New York—is St. Nicholas Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church. It is an outstanding center of ethnic culture in the city. The parish was founded in 1925 by Carpatho-Rusyn emigrants from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The majority of parishioners have come from the villages of Jarabina and Litmanová, from the cities of Užhorod and Mukačevo, and generally from hamlets scattered throughout the Beskid and High Tatra Ranges of the Carpathian Mountains.

St. Nicholas parish, part of the Carpatho-Russian Orthodox diocese centered in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, serves first and foremost the spiritual needs of its community. But it strongly encourages its people to cherish their ethnic identity, to continue speaking the rich Rusyn native dialects, to experience the culture in song, dance, cuisine, costume, art and crafts. Archimandrite Nicholas Smiško, rector of the parish and an enthusiastic supporter of this cultural preservation, notes that the frequent parish pilgrimages (*domašnye otpuski*) organized as tours to the native areas of the old country, as well as the influx of new emigrants from Czechoslovakia (particularly during the political thaw of the Dubček era in the late 1960's) have been invaluable to the parish's efforts to maintain its ethnic flavor. New emigrants are attracted especially to this parish because it, in fact, has become reknown as an extremely active Rusyn cultural center.

In its worship services, the Carpatho-Rusyn version of Old Church Slavonic is used. The choir sings hymns and responses in the colorful native chant replete with folk melodies and referred to as *prostopinie* (plain chant). Congregational singing, characteristic of the Carpathian churches, can be heard twice a month. Weddings, baptisms, and other sacramental observances are conducted in the native manner. Weddings, for instance, are frequently performed and celebrated at the Lemko Farm picnic area in upstate New York where a pilgrimage to and from the chapel accompanied by a band is followed by an abundant reception of native Rusyn foods and the traditional bridal dance signifying the bride's passage from girlhood to womanhood.

Outside of the strictly religious observances, a remarkable event in which the whole parish participates, is the annual "Krajovyj den'". This is a genuine celebration of Rusyn folk culture. Native costumes are worn, folksinging and dancing continue the entire day, and plays are performed in a Rusyn dialect portraying life in the native villages. Poetry is declaimed and even created spontaneously—an art form which has roots in ancient times and requires rare creative abilities. Native musical instruments are played, and the characteristic crafts of wood-carving and egg-decorating (*pysanky*) are displayed.

A group contributing a superb vitality to this event and to parish life in general is the St. Nicholas chapter of the A.C.R.Y. (American Carpatho-Russian Youth). The young people, after all, are the ones who inherit the culture and pass it on. And it is in this group that folksinging, folkdancing, and native crafts are studied. At the present time, Father Nicholas is organizing a group of college age youth which will help new Rusyn emigrants adjust to American life and culture and to the English language without feeling compelled to deny their Rusyn cultural and ethnic identity.

Father Nicholas strongly maintains that devotion to one's ethnic identity ought not take precedence over one's religious convictions, and within his parish it is evident that the expressions of native culture do not detract from religious observance but actually contribute to the celebration of the community's spiritual life. Father Nicholas extends an invitation to anyone planning to be in New York City to visit the parish, attend a worship service, meet the parishioners, and experience a moment of genuine Rusyn warmth.

IN COMING ISSUES:

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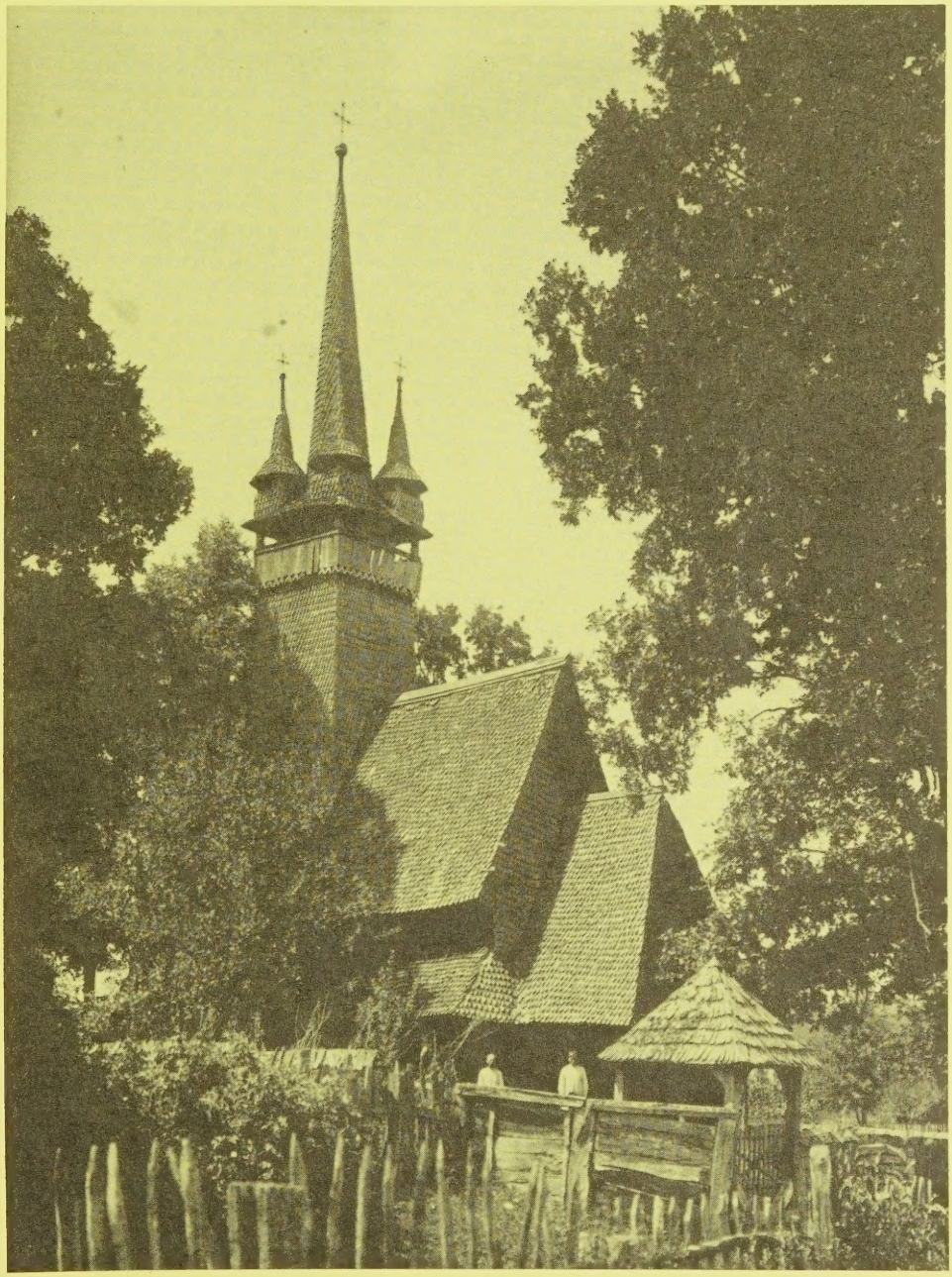

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THE ISLAND OF TEARS
TWO GENERATIONS LATER

Patricia A. Krafcik

You can't miss it if you are flying into New York City over the south of Manhattan, or if you are driving along the New Jersey coast southwest of New York City; or, better yet, if you ever take a ride on the Staten Island Ferry which transports commuters across New York Harbor from the southern tip of Manhattan to Staten Island and back. It is not the Statue of Liberty that I have in mind, although the Statue can be seen from all these perspectives. It is Ellis Island, the Island of Tears.

Located south of Manhattan in Upper New York Bay, only a half mile from the Statue of Liberty, Ellis Island is a small piece of land with a long history. First known as Gull Island to the Indians, and then as Oyster Island to the Dutch, it was acquired by a Samuel Ellis, presumably a New Jersey farmer, after whose death in 1794 it was taken over by New York State and named Bucking Island. In 1861, it was renamed Ellis Island, after Samuel, and has remained so ever since.

In 1890, Ellis Island was designated an immigration station, and subsequently served as a deportation station, a Coast Guard station, and a detention center for enemy aliens during and after World War II. By 1954, the island no longer functioned in any of these capacities and was abandoned, the buildings condemned, a chapter of history brought to a close.

Figures differ somewhat, but in approximate terms it is said that over 16 million Eastern and Southern European immigrants passed through its clearance process during the peak years of the new immigration, roughly from the 1890's to the early 1930's. Among them were thousands of Carpatho-Rusyns, our parents and grandparents, aunts and uncles. They would arrive on ships exhausted and hungry after several days journey in steerage, the section of the ship offering inferior accomodations at the lowest rates. After disembarking at a New York City pier on the Hudson River, they were herded immediately onto ferries and transferred to Ellis Island. Here, they underwent physical examinations, were questioned thoroughly, and with few exceptions, were allowed to enter the United States, scattering out in all directions, seeking friends, relatives, and work.

After it ceased to operate in 1954, Ellis Island was offered for sale, but all the bidders were ultimately rejected. For the next several years, it lay a remote, neglected testimony to the greatest mass movement in human history. It was wildly overgrown with trees and brush, much as its tumultuous immigration experience was crowded out by subsequent events—World War II, Hiroshima, the advent of the Space Age. The buildings were covered with creeping vines, their windows were shattered by vandals, their walls and ceilings crumbled helplessly in the rugged harbor weather. The ominous hush was occasionally broken by the footsteps of a guard and the panting of his police dog, the patter of rain, the flapping of wings of pigeons who found a cozy roost in the rafters.

In 1963 and 1964, the National Park Service proposed that the island be designated a national monument, and on May 11, 1965, President Johnson signed a proclamation declaring Ellis Island to be part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument. By 1976, the buildings had been restored enough to admit visitors safely while permitting them to view the rooms, halls, and corridors in a "stabilized" condition, that is, not transformed by modern improvements.

Before the island was opened to visitors in 1976, I used to watch for it in great anticipation whenever I took a ride on the Staten Island Ferry. The main building, a rambling red-orange Oriental-looking structure with white trim and four magnificent cupolas, stood rising from amidst the greenery like a brilliant party cake decked in white icing. The ferry moved slowly past the Statue of Liberty, and Ellis Island drifted by in the distance. My grandparents, I would think to myself, passed this way. This is what they saw. What were they thinking of and feeling, besides fatigue and hunger?

I finally visited Ellis Island with my brother this year. A ferry departs from Manhattan and delivers to the island its passengers—often, as in our case, children and grandchildren of immigrants returning to see this most decisive point in the immigrants' journey. We are lead in a small group through the main building along the general path trod by the immigrants from the large registry hall to the booths at the end where train tickets to all destinations could be obtained. John and I frequently trail behind the group, savoring the silence, straining to hear the last echos of immigrant voices, footsteps, sighs, tears. There are tears of sorrow—some immigrants must return to their original countries for one reason or another, and tears of joy—most will go on to start a new life begun in the warm embrace of friends and relatives. Tears, tears, the Island of Tears.

We stare out windows at the invisible crowds milling about. Somewhere in that crowd are our grandmothers, the young Anna and Marija, and our young grandfathers, Mychajlo and Matvej. Could they ever have imagined, standing out there, that their grandchildren would be watching them now from inside? There they walk, with their bundles of belongings. They look up at the windows, but they don't see us. Their eyes are searching for something else now. They haven't even found each other yet! So much lies ahead . . .

John and I exchange glances. We have learned something just now: The immigrants still live; they live within us. We hurry to catch up with the rest of the group. The remarkable sensation still does not leave us. We are the immigrants, and this is our Ellis Island, too. The ferry will leave now for Manhattan, and life will take us on and on. As we move away from Ellis Island, the late afternoon sun dances its fire on the windows of the building. John and I blink back our tears. The Island of Tears has exacted its small tribute from us, too.

ADOL'F I. DOBRIANSKIJ (1817-1901)

Adol'f Dobrianskij was the most important Carpatho-Rusyn political leader in the nineteenth century. He was born in the Rusyn village of Rudlov (Zemplyn county) in the Prešov Region of what is today eastern Slovakia. Trained as a civil engineer, he worked in the mining industry in Banská Štiavnica (central Slovakia) until 1848.

Dobrianskij's political activity is distinguished by two distinct phases. Like many other contemporary Slavic leaders, he began as a supporter of the Austrian Habsburg Monarchy. When this policy proved unsuccessful, he set his sights on tsarist Russia, which he believed could provide the only salvation for his people.

Dobrianskij's Austrian phase is related to the revolutionary events which rocked Europe in 1848-1849. All the national minorities in the Habsburg Empire put forth demands for political and cultural autonomy, and Dobrianskij became the spokesman for the Carpatho-Rusyns. He met several times with the highest governmental officials in Vienna, and in April 1849 was appointed liaison to the Russian Army which Emperor Franz Joseph had invited to help the Austrians in their armed struggle against the Hungarian revolutionaries. Dobrianskij also managed to gain a few concessions for his own people, including some amount of administrative and cultural autonomy for the "Rusyn" Užhorod District, which functioned from November 1848 to March 1849. Dobrianskij was not successful, however, in achieving his other goal: unification of Carpatho-Rusyns in Galicia, Bukovina, and Subcarpathian Rus' into one political and administrative unit.

After the demise of the "Rusyn" District, Dobrianskij tried to push his idea for Rusyn autonomy in the Hungarian parliament to which he was elected in 1861 and again in 1865. But Hungarian leaders were very suspicious of this "Pan-Slav agitator" who had helped the Austrian and Russian armies crush their own revolution in 1849. Dobrianskij's project for dividing Hungary into five national districts came to nought.

He was somewhat more successful in the cultural realm. After the death of Alexander Duchnovyč in 1865, Dobrianskij headed the first official Carpatho-Rusyn cultural society, the Society of St. Basil the Great, founded in Užhorod in 1866. It was also during these years that Dobrianskij, in cooperation with other Rusyn leaders, succeeded in having Russian (or attempts to write in Russian) used as the literary language for Carpatho-Rusyn publications. Because of his increasingly pro-Russian cultural and political stance, Dobrianskij's days in his homeland were numbered. In 1871, he was forced to emigrate to L'viv in neighboring Austrian Galicia, then in 1875 he went to live in Russia's capital, St. Petersburg, where he was greeted by tsarist officials as a friend and political ally. When he finally returned to Austria and settled in Galicia in 1881, he was promptly put on trial for treason. Although he was acquitted, Dobrianskij was forced to live in the farthest western part of Austria, in Innsbruck, until his death in 1904. Only then could he return home to be buried in the family estate in the Prešov Region village of Čertižné (Zemplyn county).

Dobrianskij's political orientations caused him great personal difficulties. Because of his early support of the Austrians, he alienated the Hungarians who ruled Subcarpathian Rus'. Later, his pro-Russian stance not only complicated cultural developments in the homeland, but it also forced him to spend the last decades of his life in exile, far from the Carpathian Mountains he loved. Nonetheless, in 1848-1849 he did gain political recognition for the Carpatho-Rusyn people who still remember the achievements of their countryman and their first brief experiment in political and cultural autonomy.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE CARPATHO-RUSYNS

(Part 1)

Although we have lived for the past several years in Cambridge, Massachusetts, I am originally from New Jersey, and I remember one time when, on the way to visit my parents, we stopped in a small town near Bridgeport, Connecticut. We were with some colleagues from Harvard, and I have forgotten whether we were speaking Rusyn, Czech, Slovak or Ukrainian—probably each of us a different one—but, in any case, when the waitress came up to the table she asked what language she had overheard. Having convinced her that we were speaking different Slavic languages, she then told us that she knew some "Russian." "Where did you learn it, in college?" I asked. "Oh no," she replied, "at home. My grandparents are from Europe and speak Russian." "From what part of Russia did they come?" "Oh, I don't know, but it was somewhere in Hungary!!"

Well, where is this place in Hungary that the girl's grandparents came from? Is it because the place is so remote that third and fourth generation descendents of Subcarpathian immigrants in this country don't really know about the heritage of the parents, let alone be able to explain it to others?

I would answer no, this is not the reason, because Subcarpthian Rus'—sometimes called Carpatho-Russia, or Carpatho-Ukraine—is not an unknown entity. Certainly not any more "unknown" to the general public than other European lands like Cornwall, Friesland, Friulia, Lusatia, Macedonia, or Slovenia. Probably not many of you have ever heard of nor could easily locate these regions on a map.

There are two points worth remembering. One is that many descendents of national groups similar to those just mentioned (and even some much larger ones) are like descendents of Carpatho-Rusyns to the degree that they are not always clear, nor in many cases do they even care about the heritage of their forefathers. Secondly, Subcarpathian Rus' is not now, nor has it ever been "unknown," despite what some foreigners and even some Rusyns in this country and in Europe might think.

Already in the nineteenth century, influential writers like the Russians Michail Pogodin and Nikolaj Nadeždin, Ukrainians like Ilarion Sreznevs'kyj, Ivan Franko, and Mychajlo Drahomaniv, and Czechs and Slovaks like Josef Dobrovský, Ján Kollár, L'udovit Štúr, Pavel Šafárik, and Milan Hodža had written about Subcarpathian Rus'. The most widely-read Magyar writer of the period, Mor Jókai, based one of his very popular novels on the castle of Chust. By the twentieth century, the region was visited by the internationally-known Czech writer Karel Čapek, the American writer Erskine Caldwell, and the photographer Margaret Bourke White, and it provided subject matter for the work of all three. To

these leading lights of the European and American intelligentsias were added a host of other scholars, journalists, and publicists who produced volumes of writings on the region, so that by 1931 the distinguished Slavic literary scholar and linguist Roman Jakobson could state: "In the whole East Slavic world, there is hardly any other marginal area whose past has been examined with such affectionate meticulousness and scholarliness as Carpatho-Rus'."

To reiterate, Subcarpathian Rus' is not now, nor has it ever been a *terra incognita*—an unknown land; nor are the historical and sociological experiences of Carpatho-Rusyns in Europe and of their descendents in America unique or substantially different than those of other peoples from other territories.

Before we proceed further, a word about nomenclature is necessary. Rus' is a name whose origin can be found in the loosely-knit political entity of Kievan Rus', sometimes referred to incorrectly as Kievan Russia, which existed from the late ninth to early thirteenth centuries and centered on the territory of present-day Ukraine. Kievan Rus' was under the influence of Byzantium, the eastern capital of the Roman Empire, from which Kiev adopted Christianity. During the following centuries, Orthodox Christianity served as a kind of cultural mortar for all the eastern Slavic peoples. In the medieval period, the inhabitants of this cultural sphere (including Subcarpathian Rus') were collectively known as Rusyns, or the people of Rus', terms which in addition meant persons who were affiliated with the Eastern Christian Church.

As centuries passed and the political situation caused the East Slavic peoples to develop in different ways, they received new names. The inhabitants of northern Rus' had by the seventeenth century come to be known as Russians or Great Russians, in distinction from people from southern Rus', known as Little Russians, and by the late nineteenth century as Ukrainians. By the twentieth century, the names Rus' and Rusyn were maintained only in the Carpathian region, especially in Subcarpathian Rus'.

In a sense, these are the last people who have throughout the centuries maintained the name Rus' handed down from Kievan times, and it is within this long-term historical context that it seems appropriate to use the name here. Most national writers have also preferred the names Rus' and Rusyn. The adjective Subcarpathian is less complex. Carpathian indicates the mountains that are the dominant feature of the area, while the prefix "sub" suggests that the people in question live south of the crest of the mountains. This helps to distinguish them from those on the other side with whom they have much in common. *(To be continued)*

Paul R. Magocsi

PETE LATZO—A RUSYN BOXING CHAMPION

Boxing fans familiar with the identities of past champions and contenders often observe that the ethnic composition of active boxers changed through the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Irish-American fighters were heavily represented before World War I, and boxers of Italian and Jewish backgrounds abounded in the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's. At the present time, most leading American boxers in the heavier weight classes are black, and Hispanic boxers dominate the lighter divisions.

The process in which an ethnic group dominates an occupation only to be displaced by another (typically more impoverished) group is termed by sociologists *ethnic succession*. Boxing well illustrates this process because poor youths have used the prize ring to escape the ghetto or slum. When an ethnic group as a whole becomes more affluent, the percentage of its members in boxing declines. While not as numerous as Jewish and Italian fighters, some men of Slavic background, whose parents immigrated at about the same time as the first two groups, also became champions. Thus, Gus Lesnevich (Russian), Tony (Zaleski) Zale (Polish), and Fritzie Zivic (Croatian) also exemplify this process.

Carpatho-Rusyns have also produced a champion, Pete Latzo. Reigning as World Welterweight Champion in 1926 and 1927, he gave Slavic miners of Pennsylvania's anthracite region a hero whose accomplishments provided them with a vicarious identification and a release from the economic deprivation, physical dangers, tedium, and tensions of their work. Pete was truly one of their own. Born in Colerain, he spent most of his youth in the Scranton area. He worked for a time in the mines in Taylor as a breaker boy, a dangerous job which involved sorting impurities out of the anthracite.

By the time he was seventeen, his brother Steve had become a welterweight contender, and Pete wanted to compete in the same weight division. However, a promoter felt it would be to Pete's advantage to establish an identity distinct from his brother, and prevailed upon him to change his name. Significantly, he chose an Irish name, "Young Clancy," following the then fairly common practice for aspiring boxers of other ethnic backgrounds to assume Irish names and to thus borrow prestige from a group that had already produced many brawling, ferocious fighters. Perhaps either because he had established an independent

reputation or out of pride in his Slavic heritage, Latzo reassumed his own name after about nine fights. In fact, prior to Pete's championship bout with Joe (Samuel Lazzaro) Dundee in 1927, John Kieran of *The New York Times* noted the practice of boxers pirating names and wrote, "One thing in favor of Pete Latzo is that he fights under his own name."

Latzo was undefeated from 1919 until December, 1922, although many of his matches were of the "no decision" variety common at the time. From 1922 until he won the championship from Mickey Walker on May 20, 1926, Pete had fought twenty-four times in Scranton, six times in Wilkes-Barre, and once in Hazelton, and had also travelled to the east and west coasts, losing only six of fifty-four contests. He was known as a good "club fighter," but was not generally considered of championship caliber. For the title fight with Walker in Scranton he was the decided underdog in the gambling odds.

Since a strike had occurred at that time in the anthracite fields, leaving many families destitute, Latzo's followers could not afford to wager much money on his victory. But they gave their emotional and vocal support, turning the town's atmosphere into that of a carnival. Jack Lawrence wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune:* "This town . . . is literally fight mad. From the priests of the church to the miners of the adjacent diggings, there is an intense and abiding interest in tomorrow night's proceedings in the armory. The priests and their flocks have even gone so far as to offer up fervent prayers for a Latzo victory. If Pete should emerge from the ring tomorrow night with the world's welterweight crown perched on his brow, it is quite certain no coal will be mined here for several days."

Pete won a ten-round majority decision before 12,000 enthusiastic, screaming partisans in Scranton's armory. While the referee called the bout a draw, the two judges favored Latzo, and the overwhelming consensus of out-of-town journalists was that the local lad had clearly beaten the Elizabeth, New Jersey, fighter due to his sweep of the last five rounds.

A near riot occurred that night. State and local police were called, and all Scranton celebrated. The miners who risked their cash to bet on Latzo "cleaned up." His win was, in a sense, a physical and moral victory for the Slavic miners generally. Trying to capture the spirit of the night's celebration, the renowned Grantland Rice of the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote: "Pete Latzo of Scranton is the new welterweight champion of the world. As this announcement is being made in Scranton's great armory just short of midnight there is a riot of noise no single enclosure ever knew before. Twelve thousand fans shrieking and roaring and raving all over the building, including the ring, are in the midst of a jubilee . . . . The dark-haired, serious-faced Slav from Pennsylvania started like a zephyr and finished like a cyclone and hurricane thrown into one."

Pete Latzo never again equalled his performance against Walker. He successfully defended his title twice, but lost it to Joe Dundee (by means of a fifteen-round decision) on June 3, 1927, at New York's Polo Grounds. Since he had difficulty making the 147-pound weight limit of the welterweight division, Latzo subsequently fought as a middleweight and light heavyweight. He received two chances at the light heavyweight championship in 1928, losing decisions to Tommy Loughran in Brooklyn and Wilkes-Barre. From then until he retired from the ring in 1934, his career declined, although he fought two men who were later to become world champions, James J. Braddock and Jimmy Slattery. Latzo's last fight was in Pittsburgh on June 5, 1934, when he lost to a Polish-American boxer, Teddy Yarosz, who himself later became middleweight champion.

Pete Latzo identified closely with the Carpatho-Rusyn community. While he was champion, he fought a non-title match in Pittsburgh, and after defeating Jimmy Jones, told a reporter for *Our Monthly Messenger,* a publication of the Greek Catholic Union, that he wished to express "appreciation and thanks to the many Rusin visitors I had during my stay" [in the Pittsburgh area]. Pete was a member of the Greek Catholic Union's *Sokol Sojedinenije,* and the fraternity's weekly paper *Amerikansky Russky Viesnik* referred to him as "our champion." A group of Rusyns among the crowd of 8000 who attended his bout with Jones even sang "Ja Rusyn byl, jesm i budu" before the fight.

After he retired from the ring, Pete Latzo worked as a welder in Margate, New Jersey. He was sixty-five when he died on July 7, 1968, in Atlantic City.

Professor Richard Renoff
Nassau Community College (SUNY)

LANGUAGE

While lacking a standard literary form, Carpatho-Rusyn is rich in dialectal diversity. The following phrases are taken from the dialect spoken in the village of Vyšná Jablonka, located in northeastern Czechoslovakia. As in our first issue, the pronunciation guide represents a close approximation of the authentic sound. Practice these phrases:

What is your name?	Jak Vam méno? (Yahk vahm mén-o?)
My name is Ivan.	Móje méno je Iván. (Móh-ye mén-o ye Ee-váhn.)
How are you?	Jak sja máte? (Yahk syah máh-te?)
Fine, thank you.	Djákuju, dóbri. (Dyáh-koo-yoo, dóh-bree.)
So, so.	Tak všyliják. (Tahk vshy-lee-yáhk.)
What's new?	Što nóvoho? (shtoh nóh-voh-hoh?)

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

In our first issue we introduced to our readers the enthusiastic work being done by Archimandrite Father Nicholas Smiško of St. Nicholas Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Church in New York City in the preservation of Carpatho-Rusyn ethnic culture and ethnic awareness. Father Nicholas's work is enhanced by an influx of immigrants from the Old Country, people who continually supply the parish with a fresh impression of the living reality of Rusyn culture and ethnic identity. For most of us second and third generation Americans of Carpatho-Rusyn origin the situation is somewhat different.

Most of us have not (or have not *yet*) seen the rolling green hills, lush forests, and jagged mountains of eastern Slovakia and western Ukraine. For us, the Old Country remains a kind of mystery. While as familiar as grandmother next door, it is still somehow worlds away in time and space. It is something we've always heard about, yet is a place which easily escapes the eyes of one who glances casually at the map of modern Europe. The ethnic identity is within us, perhaps in certain of our values or in the food we like, but it speaks a language which most of us only partly understand—or maybe not at all. If we are to know our ethnic identity, to partake in some way of the richness of our cultural and ethnic origins, we must exert a special effort. This is particularly true in the American context where in previous years we were encouraged to throw off "vestiges" of the old world, vestiges which only now are we beginning to perceive as precious gems of our cultural heritage.

There are among us—the second and third generations—those energetic activists who are taking the lead in what might be called a revival or renewal of interest in ethnic origins. A young man who superbly represents precisely this special effort to preserve and exhibit the wealth of our ethnic culture is Mr. Jerry Jumba of McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania. He is the music director of the folk ensemble *Slavjane,* and along with the group's program director, Mr. Jack Poloka, choreographs the ensemble's many performances.

The *Slavjane* perform their songs and dances not only as entertainment connected with other events, but in addition, present their own Annual Concert every spring. While performing the songs and dances of many Slavic groups, *Slavjane's* repertory consists mainly of Carpatho-Rusyn folklore. Perhaps one of the most outstanding features of the ensemble is its striving for authenticity in its expression of folk culture. For our predecessors, authenticity of cultural expression came naturally, of course. For us, authentic reproduction must be the result of intense research, field work, and contacts with authorities in folksong and folk dance. Mr. Jumba, who in a coming issue will relate in more detail his activities and his philosophy of ethnic preservation, himself moves easily in the world of Carpatho-Rusyn folklore. Not only can he handle professionally the arrangement of folk melodies and dance patterns, he is also fluent in the plastic folk arts as well as in folk customs.

For the latest *Slavjane* Annual Concert which was given on May 21, 1978, Mr. Jumba helped to design the costumes called *verchovinci*—representative of the Central Užhorod Region—and the native embroidery or *višivka.* Along with miscellaneous folksongs and dances, the ensemble prepared a reproduction of the genuine Rusyn wedding cycle, with its ritual songs, dances, and speeches. Again it was Mr. Jumba who took the major initiative in researching and arranging this performance.

Mr. Jumba does not confine his activities to *Slavjane,* but instructs other young people in Slavic, and especially Carpatho-Rusyn, folksongs and dances, preparing numerous performances. For instance, ninety-eight young people of grades one through eight of St. Nicholas Byzantine School in McKees Port, Pennsylvania, instructed by Mr. Jumba, presented a successful Carpatho-Rusyn song and dance performance on April 7, 1978. As a result of the enthusiastic reception and general rise in interest in ethnic culture, the school will begin a costume project this fall in order to have the most authentic possible Rusyn costumes for next year's performance.

On May 19, 1978, St. John's Byzantine Cathedral School presented their Fourth Annual Carpatho-Rusyn Song and Dance Concert, again under the able direction of Mr. Jumba. This time, one hundred fifteen students performed in Rusyn folk dress, accompanied by a folk orchestra.

Mr. Jumba does not work alone, but receives warm, generous support from the schools' authorities, clergy, Sisters, and the parents of the young people involved in the performances. Such cooperation is essential if we are to celebrate our ethnic culture and to share it proudly with others. And such leaders as Mr. Jumba and those who work with him in the renewal of interest in our ethnic origins deserve great praise for their efforts.

If you are also in some way involved in any kind of activity which contributes to the preservation of Carpatho-Rusyn ethnic heritage, and wish to share this with our readers, please inform the editor of this newsletter.

IN COMING ISSUES:

Historical context of the Carpatho-Rusyns
Language: Phrases, proverbs, riddles.
Biographies of outstanding Carpatho-Rusyns.
Religious experience among Carpatho-Rusyns.
The Immigration.
Recent publications and research projects.
Folklore of the Carpatho-Rusyns.
Activities of Carpatho-Rusyn communities.

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A Newsletter on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage

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CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

A Newsletter on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage

Number 3 Fall, 1978

FROM THE EDITOR:

Whenever one reaches out to communicate with others, it is gratifying to receive a response. Since last spring when our first issue appeared, we have gotten several notes and letters from readers—some discovering their ethnic and cultural heritage for the first time; others anxious to expand their knowledge; some asking questions and requesting that we investigate areas of particular interest to them (which we shall try to do); others offering constructive criticism. Several readers from around the country have shared with us their own unique experiences as descendants of immigrants, and we would like to encourage every reader to do this.

The strongest message in all of the letters, whether articulated as such or not, was that few people are indifferent to their origins. Another message was that Carpatho-Rusyns frequently perceive their ethnic identity in different ways. The particular experiences and background of each person or his parents and grandparents have been important in shaping that person's perception and understanding of his ethnic identity. And certainly a variety of perceptions is to be anticipated among the descendants of a population whose native homeland existed for centuries under foreign domination, experiencing the influence of several strong external and usually contradictory forces.

Let us now allow the readers to speak for themselves. The following are excerpts from several letters received over the past few months.

Dear Editor:
I have just finished reading the first issue of the "Carpatho-Rusyn American." This type of work seems to be most informative since very little has been published in the past regarding our heritage. I have taken a year's subscription and hope that future issues will be as rewarding. . . .

Mark Turick/New Jersey

Dear Editor:
I really enjoyed the first issue of the "Carpatho-Rusyn American." My parents are from Užhorod and the things in your publication are so like my mom has told me. She came here in 1913. She's now 82 and she was so happy to read about her homeland. I can speak "po-našomu" and I'm proud!

Peggy Oakill/Pennsylvania

Dear Editor:
Your first newsletter was warmly welcomed. Keep up the good work. . . .

Reverend Joseph M. Stanichar
Chaplain/Captain USAF

Dear Editor:
I just wished to convey how much I enjoyed receiving the first issue of the "Carpatho-Rusyn American." I found it delightful, informative, and well-written. My thanks to you and Paul Magocsi for the time and effort which you have spent initiating the newsletter and bringing it to the Carpatho-Rusyn American community. A publication dealing solely with our ethnic heritage has been wanting for some time, the need for which will become more apparent as many of the early immigrants pass away. What I enjoyed most about the newsletter was the rich variety of topics it covered, the Pascha recipe included! . . . I would also like to suggest for future issues of the newsletter articles dealing with: (1) Carpatho-Rusyn organizations. . . . (2)traditional dances and songs. . . . (3)everyday life in the old country. . . (4)the special place of holidays during the year. Congratulations and best wishes in your dedicated effort to heighten our awareness of our cultural heritage.

Fred C. Olday/Maine

Dear Editor:
Just a short note to congratulate you on the first issue of the newsletter which I was able to see a few days ago. I hope that the project continues well; let me know if I may be of help.

Father George Johnson/Pennsylvania
Orthodox Church in America

Dear Editor:
Enclosed is my check for $5.00 as a subscription. . . . The first issue was OK! . . . Best wishes and good luck.

Julian Revay/New York City
Carpathian Research Center

Dear Editor:
We indeed are gratified to encounter so authentic and informative a newsletter as the "Carpatho-Rusyn American." We are pleased also to see that its editor is a woman, and commend you for your commitment to this field. . . .

David and Olga (Borukh) Morgan/Pennsylvania

Dear Editor:
I just received my second issue of the "Carpatho-Rusyn American" and I can't express my joy after reading it. As a first generation American, I was totally unaware of the social and historical significance of the region of my parents' birth.

Thomas Dutch
Personnel Administrator
Michigan State University/Housing and Food Services Division

Dear Editor:
. . . . I want you to know that I was delighted to learn that something is really being done to enlighten the progeny of Carpatho-Rus' that his background is the reason that we of later generations are able to fit in so well and contribute so much for the good of the USA. . . .

John Wargo/Colorado

AVHUSTYN I. VOLOŠYN (1874-1945)

Avhustyn Vološyn was one of the most active national leaders of the twentieth century. There is not an aspect of Subcarpathian life—cultural, political, religious, educational, economic—in which he did not play an important and often decisive role.

Vološyn was born in the mountainous village of Kelečyn (Máramaros county) in what is today the Transcarpathian oblast of the Soviet Ukraine. Like his father, Avhustyn attended the seminary in Užhorod and was ordained a Greek Catholic priest. During the last decades of Hungarian rule, he was one of the few members of the local intelligentsia who opposed Magyarization and favored instead the use of Rusyn vernacular in publications and schools. He put these views into practice as editor of the monthly journal *Nauka* (1903-1914) and the annual almanac *Misjacoslov* (1901-1921). Vološyn had great influence over several generations of Subcarpathian youth, because from 1900 to 1938 he was a professor and from 1917 director of the Užhorod Teacher's College. For younger students he authored a series of textbooks in arithmetic, physics, pedagogy and logic, as well as several grammars and readers, the most popular being the *Methodological Grammar of the Carpatho-Rusyn Language* (Metodyčna hramatyka karpatorus'koho jazŷka) which went through six editions between 1899 and 1930.

After Subcarpathian Rusyns joined the new democratic state of Czechoslovakia in 1919 they at last had a say in how they would be governed. From the very beginning, Vološyn played a leading role. He was chairman of the Rusyn Club (March 1919) which negotiated with American-Rusyn leaders, vice-chairman of the Central National Council of Užhorod which declared for union with Czechoslovakia (May 1919), and then a leading member of the Rusyn delegation which journeyed to Prague to meet the recently elected President Tomáš Masaryk. Between 1919 and 1920 Vološyn was one of the five members on the Directorate, the first governing body for Subcarpathian Rus', then between 1925 and 1929 he served as a deputy for the People's Party in the National Parliament in Prague. These political activities did not deter the busy Vološyn from participation in cultural and economic affairs. Besides professorial and directorial duties at the Teacher's Seminary, he served as chairman of both the Pedagogical Society (est. 1924) and the Teacher's Assembly (est. 1929), was a founding member of the pro-Ukrainian Prosvita Society (est. 1920), and was instrumental in organizing the Subcarpathian Bank and Cooperative Union. He also continued to write several scholarly works, including a study of the language question (1921) and an analysis of Subcarpathian history (1935) which was published in England by the distinguished *Slavonic and East European Review* in London. By the 1920s Vološyn had become convinced that Subcarpathians were part of the Ukrainian nationality and he felt they should be identified as such.

It is not surprising that when Subcarpathian Rus' finally obtained its autonomy from Czechoslovakia in the autumn of 1938 Vološyn would play a leading role. He was appointed premier-minister in November 1938 and for the next four and one-half months he tried to establish a workable government for the newly baptized Carpatho-Ukraine. International pressures on the eve of World War II were too great, however, and by March 1939 the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler decided to destroy what was left of Czechoslovakia. At its first (and last) meeting, the newly elected Carpatho-Ukrainian Diet gathered in Chust in March 15, declared the country independent, and elected Vološyn president. But that same day Hungarian troops invaded the region; Vološyn and his government were forced to flee.

After crossing Romania and Yugoslavia, Vološyn reached Prague in 1940. There he spent the war years as a professor at the Ukrainian Free University in the now German-occupied Czech capital. In May 1945 when the victorious Red Army finally drove out the Germans, Vološyn was warned by his friends that he would be apprehended if he stayed in Prague, but because of his age, he decided not to leave the city. The inevitable took place. Within a few weeks he was arrested by the Soviet secret police and sent to the Soviet Union to be placed on trial. In such unfavorable circumstances, his health failed and he soon died in a Soviet prison.

In spite of his variegated political career, which has either been praised or criticized by friends and enemies, Avhustyn Vološyn is nonetheless universally recognized as one of the most important Subcarpathian Rusyn leaders of the twentieth century.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE CARPATHO-RUSYNS

In Part 1 of this article, the author pointed out that Subcarpathian Rus' has always been a land which has drawn the attention of scholars and the creative interest of writers, journalists, and publicists. He demonstrated its geographical position in East Central Europe with the aid of a map showing the former Hungarian county divisions, and discussed the use of the terms Rus', Rusyn, and Subcarpathian. — Editor

(Part 2)

The rest of my remarks will be divided into two parts. The first will concentrate on political developments. In a short space, I cannot present a detailed history of the region, but rather mention only those events I consider to be crucial turning points in the past. In the second part, we shall turn to an eternally vexing question—the problem of national identity.

(1) The first important historical problem is the settlement of the region. Recent archeological evidence has proven that Subcarpathian Rus' was settled as early as the fifth millenium B.C. As for the direct ancestors of the Rusyns, we know that they came from the vast East Slavic world known as Kievan Rus'. From Galicia and Volynia in the north, settlers crossed the Carpathian passes, while a smaller number came from Poltava, entering the region from the south through Transylvania. There is much less certainty as to the time of their arrival. Some scholars say Carpatho-Rusyns were in their present homeland already in the sixth century. Others claim they did not begin to arrive until the eleventh century, and then only in small numbers.

Certainly by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, several waves of Rusyn immigrants had arrived, the last wave, according to local legend, coming at the end of the fourteenth century led by Prince Fedor Korjatovyč. He is considered one of the earliest Rusyn national heroes. The question of when Carpatho-Rusyns and when Slavs in general had arrived in the Danubian Basin was once a burning political issue, especially in the 1920's and 1930's when Hungary was trying to get back the territory by arguing on grounds of historical precedent that the Magyars were there first. This issue, of course, is no longer crucial. The point to remember is that the ancestors of Carpatho-Rusyns came from Rus', so that they are ethnically and culturally related to the East.

(2) The next important date is 896 when several Maygar tribes fleeing under the pressure of the other nomadic peoples in the Great Asiatic and Ukrainian steppes, crossed the Carpathians through the Subcarpathian region under the leadership of Árpád in search of a new homeland. An influential medieval Hungarian chronicler later related that when the Magyar tribes passed through what is now Užhorod, they had to fight off and eventually kill a certain Prince Laborec, who has subsequently become the first remembered Rusyn leader. Although the Magyar tribes were pagan, they eventually accepted Christianity under the jurisdiction of Rome, so that the Hungarian Kingdom became part of western civilization and development. This was to be of crucial significance for Carpatho-Rusyns, because in the eleventh century, the Hungarian Kingdom had established its hegemony over the Subcarpathian region, and Rusyn culture was henceforth to be open to the influence of western civilization.

(3) The next important turning point comes at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Hungarian Kingdom was suffering from internal struggles between the king and nobility. In an attempt to satisfy the nobles, a new land code, the *Tripartitum*, was passed in 1514. For all intents and purposes, the *Tripartitum* gave the nobility complete control over the population living on its lands. The Carpatho-Rusyns became serfs and they were at the mercy of local landlords, the more prominent being the Drugeth, Perényi, Rákóczi, and later Andrássy and Schönbrunn families. Serfdom lasted legally in Hungary until 1848, but even after that time the economic position of the poverty-stricken Rusyn peasants did not improve. One reason is that throughout Hungary the nobility continued to control the administration, and this class refused to allow the kind of political and especially economic modernization that was taking place in other parts of western Europe during the nineteenth century. Hungary remained a backward country, and one of its least developed regions was Subcarpathian Rus'. As a result, most Carpatho-Rusyns remained in the peasant class, and poor peasants at that. Moreover, neither the so-called "Czechoslovak revolution" of 1919, the "Hungarian revolution" of 1939, nor the "Soviet revolution" of 1945 really changed anything. In 1910, 89 percent of the Rusyn population was engaged in small-scale agriculture and related pursuits; in 1930 that figure was 83 percent; and in 1950 still as high as 70 percent.

(4) Indeed, the *Tripartitum* of 1514 did not take effect immediately, because Hungary was suffering from an internal political crisis and was open to invasion from the Ottoman Turkish forces which in 1526 annihilated the Hungarian armies at the Battle of Mohács. For more than 150 years, Hungary was divided into three parts: (1) the major part of the country was under Turkish rule; (2) the northern regions of Slovakia and part of Subcarpathian Rus' were controlled by the Habsburgs in Vienna; while (3) semi-independent Transylvania in the east was ruled by Hungarian nobles. Besides the harsh Turkish presence, Hungary was torn between two factions: the Habsburgs in the west were engaged in a bloody war with the Transylvanian princes in the east, both of whom claimed the legal right to the Hungarian crown. This struggle was to have a direct impact on Subcarpathian Rus' which at times was ruled by both of these conflicting forces.

Actually, during the sixteenth century Subcarpathian Rus' and neighboring Slovakia were relatively well off, since the mountainous areas provided a haven from the Ottomans who were occupying the Hungarian plain. Moreover, with the lack of an effective Hungarian central administration, serfdom as laid down by the 1514 *Tripartitum* could not be enforced. But the situation was to change in the seventeenth century when the Habsburgs began to enforce their control

over Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus'.

The result was a series of rebellions known as the Kúruc Wars which culminated in the great uprising led by Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II between 1703 and 1711. Rákóczi was born at his family's estate of Mukačevo, and he later became a prince of Transylvania. He viewed the struggle as a Hungarian "war for independence" against the Habsburgs; for the Rusyn peasants who made up the bulk of his army, this struggle was an expression of anger against increased taxes and the ravaging of the countryside by troops of the Habsburg imperial armies. Rákóczi went down in defeat and fled the country, but Hungarian writers began to foster the legend that as supporters of their "beloved prince," the Rusyns were "gens fidelissima," that is, the people loyal to Hungary. With the final defeat of these uprisings, the Rusyn countryside was damaged, the peasants were poorer than ever, and now subject to the stringent tax and serf regulations enforced by the imperial Habsburg regime directed from Vienna and with the help of the local Hungarian nobility. (To be continued)

Paul R. Magocsi

Prince Fedor Korjatovyč, a woodcut from the frontispiece of Joanniky Basilovits' book, *Brevis notitia Fundationis Theodori Koriathovits* (Košice, 1799).

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Carpatho-Rusyn civilization has continued to be a subject of interest to scholars in both Europe and the United States. In this and subsequent issues we will provide a systematic annotated list of all publications that have appeared since 1975. — Editor.

Annals of the World Lemkos' Federation—Annaly Svitovoji Federaciji Lemkiv, Vol. II (Camillus, N.Y., 1975), 272 p.

This is the second volume of a proposed annual journal of scholarly articles edited by John Hvosda and published by the World Lemkos' Federation, a recently founded organization that hopes to unify all Lemkian organizations in the western world. This issue contains 7 articles, 10 documents, 1 review, and a bibliography, all of which appear in either English, Ukrainian, Russian, or Polish. Most of the material concentrates on Lemkians north of the Carpathians in former Galicia and includes articles by Walter Dushnyk and Ivan Hvosda, and reprints of previously published studies by Ivan F. Evseev, Andrzej Kwilecki, and Jevhen Vrec'ona, all of which deal with the deportation of Lemkians and other aspects of their post-1945 history in Poland.

Čorný, Michal, ed. *Socialistickou cestou k národnostnej rovnoprávnosti* (Along the Socialist Road to National Equality). Bratislava: Pravda, 1975, 160 p.

This collection of nine articles is in the words of the book's subtitle, "a collection of studies on the development of the Ukrainian nationality in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic." Focus is on the Rusyn-inhabited Prešov Region and in particular on post-1945 aspects of politics, economics, culture, education, drama and folklore, literature, and publishing. The collection is informative, although overoptimistic in its positive evaluation of the effects of socialism.

Danko, Michal. "Rozvoj obyvatel'stva ukrajinskej národnosti v Československu po oslobodení" (The Development of the Population of Ukrainian Nationality in Czechoslovakia After the Liberation [1945]). *Stav a úkoly výzkumu národnostni otázky v ČSSR*. Opava: Slezský ústav ČSAV, 1975, pp. 319–324.

This brief article overemphasizes the cultural achievements in the Carpatho-Rusyn inhabited Prešov Region and criticizes the results of the "Prague Spring" of 1968.

Doboš, Stepan. *Julij Ivanovič Stavrovskij-Popradov: očerk žizni i tvorčestva* (Julij I. Stavrovskij-Popradov: an Outline of his Life and Work). Bratislava and Prešov: Slovac'ke pedagogične vyd., viddil ukrajinskoji literatury, 1975, 168 p.

This is the first comprehensive biography of the late nineteenth century Carpatho-Rusyn writer, Stavrovskij-Popradov. Written in Russian, Dobos' monograph provides biographical data, describes the cultural context in which Stavrovskij-Popradov grew up, and then follows with individual chapters on the poetry, prose, school texts, and language of the author.

The Carpatho-Rusyn Wedding: Part 1.

The marriage ceremony and the great traditions surrounding it in the land of Carpatho-Rusyns is a beautiful religious, joyful, and festive occasion. From county to county, whether it be Spiš, Šaryš, Zemplyn, Už, Bereg, Ugoča or Marmaroš, the color and excitement, and the religious and social importance are always present. Each county, and often each village contains some variation in the practice of formalities. Each wedding has an individual touch effected by local Rusyn personalities, who through their local folklore give added excitement, coloration, and meaning to their village wedding.

Over many centuries our Rusyn ancestors established these customs and traditions in order to promote and protect the sacredness of the sacrament of matrimony. Tradition prescribes that a new couple achieve a solid identity as husband and wife and tradition requires them to complete their awareness of their new social responsibilities in the Rusyn community. Historically the social and cultural survival of Rusyns depended on the strength and beauty inherent in our living cultural traditions and religion.

The ceremony itself is in several stages, and we shall observe the process step by step. Let us begin with the major question: In the Rusyn village, how might a young man like Ivan Rusnak meet a nice girl like Marička Danko? If a young man desires to marry, he so informs his parents that he has a particular young woman he wishes to court. Sometimes the whole family and relatives act as matchmakers. They arrange for a young man and woman to meet to see if they like each other. Also, a couple could become acquainted at the Sunday afternoon dances in the springtime, at religious functions at the same church, working the same fields or pastures, shopping and selling in the village marketplace, or at other wedding celebrations.

The next step in the direction of marriage is the betrothal announcement, or the *zaručinky.* A meeting for deciding the betrothal begins after supper in the early evening at approximately seven o'clock. On the *verchovyna*, or highlands, the ritual of the *zaručinky* is a very happy occasion. The prospective groom goes to the home of the prospective bride with two or three older men and his best friend as spokesman. The *starosta*, or senior spokesman, must be skillful and persuasive at negotiating a proper settlement of properties. The *starosta* is well versed in the betrothal formalities and is a man who has a way with words, a fine speaking voice, and an honest and convincing personality. So when they decide the dowry—perhaps so much land, hay, seeds, goats, oxen, money, linens, and so on—Ivan and Marička give their acknowledgement. The wedding is accepted formally, and a wedding date is set.

The bargaining for the dowry usually ends in a successful agreement between the two families and afterwards there is food, drink, singing, and dancing. Many times the *zaručinky* goes on into the next morning. Immediately after the betrothal the young couple arranges for an engagement ceremony blessed by the Reverend Father, who will also fill out the marriage certificate and send the couple to the notary to register the legal marriage application. Carpatho-Rusyn weddings are traditionally held on Sundays or Holy Days so that most of the village is free from work and able to attend.

Following the betrothal the wedding usually takes place in three months. A week before, the fiancée gives her fiancé a symbolic gift such as an expensive handkerchief. The preparation of food is in progress and the bride with two bridesmaids and the groom with two ushers go from house to house to invite their guests. The young women wear nice clothes and a special floral arrangement on their hats, a *bugrejda*, and carry two walking sticks tied with ribbons, one stick to represent each family. Usually the whole village is invited.

As the wedding date comes nearer, the families do the last of their cooking. Relatives and neighbors help by bringing gifts of cheese, eggs, meats, pirohy, rice, kvasna kapusta, halušky, and so on. The foods are cooked and fried as prescribed by custom. Now it is the night before the wedding and there is singing and dancing to say farewell to the bride's last day as an unmarried woman. The bridesmaids, or *družky*, weave wedding wreaths for the bride and groom to wear in church. After the village dance that night before the wedding, they go into the nearby woods to pick periwinkle leaves—*barvinok*. At about two o'clock in the morning, they meet the ushers at the bride's house and weave the wedding wreath, or *vinec*. They sing and talk for hours into the night as they weave the *barvinok* into beautiful green crowns to be blessed and used at the crowning in the wedding ceremony. As they pick the *barvinok* they sing, "Periwinkle, I love to wear you, but because of a young man I must leave you to be married." (To be continued)

Jerry Jumba
Music Director and Choreographer
Slavjane Folk Ensemble

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

When the Carpatho-Rusyns immigrated to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century and during the first decades of the twentieth, they made their homes primarily in cities along the east coast, the areas of easiest access for them when they arrived from Europe. One particularly well-known Carpatho-Rusyn community is that of Bridgeport, Connecticut. It is estimated that up to 20,000

descendants of Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants still live in the Greater Bridgeport area.

Last spring, the Bridgeport newspaper *The Sunday Post* featured a series of articles on the ethnic history of the Bridgeport population. The Carpatho-Rusyns, who have led an active and interesting life in the city's history, were covered in three lengthy articles by Herbert F. Geller. Who were the Carpatho-Rusyns of Bridgeport? Who are they today?

Although traditionally an agricultural people, the Carpatho-Rusyns came to Bridgeport, along with other immigrants, to work in the numerous factories in the metropolitan area. Settling on the east side of the city, an ethnic area, they took jobs and became skilled workers in such firms as the Bridgeport Brass Company, Singer Sewing Machine Company, United Metallic Cartridge (later Remington Arms), and others, some of which no longer exist after so many years.

The Carpatho-Rusyns formed fraternal and social organizations, for instance the St. Elias Society and the St. Basil Society, which provided a greatly needed place to socialize in one's own language, as well as accident, sickness, death, and burial insurance. This was followed by the founding of a church, the soul of the early community—St. John the Baptist Greek Catholic Church. Father Orestes Chornock, who came to the church in 1911, was eventually to lead a movement in the 1930's to maintain the Eastern Rite customs and traditions which the Vatican was at that time attempting to replace with those of the Western Roman Catholic Church. From this movement emerged the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in which Father Chornock was consecrated as the first bishop by the Patriarch of Constantinople, spiritual head of the Orthodox Christian Churches.

The Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist was then built on Mill Hill Avenue in Bridgeport, and its present pastor is the Very Reverend John Duranko. Two other churches were constructed soon after this in Stratford. Bishop Chornock was greatly aided in his endeavors by the late Very Reverend Joseph Mihaly, also of Bridgeport, who, among his other activities, founded the national youth club which is now the American Carpatho-Russian Youth (ACRY). The original St. John the Baptist Greek Catholic Church was eventually succeeded by St. John the Baptist Byzantine Rite Church in Trumbull, and its present pastor is the Reverend Alan Borsuk.

The Carpatho-Rusyns of Bridgeport, both Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic, have always been proud of their cultural heritage, adorning their communities with spirited Slavic song and dance throughout the years. The church was, as always, the center of their life, offering spiritual guidance, friendship, and a helpful hand in time of need, as well as sponsoring picnics, plays, and other social affairs. Church and community activities provided a welcome outlet for the people who worked long, hard hours in factories and mills, without the security enjoyed by most workers today.

A great number of Carpatho-Rusyns, seeking a more independent occupation, started their own businesses, especially in the form of small grocery stores. Whole families would participate in the responsibilities of keeping the business going. Besides groceries, Carpatho-Rusyns owned and operated other businesses, some of which still thrive: the insurance agency of John Onofrey, now run by his brother Stephen; the Peerless Aluminum Foundry of the Peter Hardy family; the Manhattan Building Supply Company of the Mahonec family which provided concrete for the construction of Yankee Stadium in the Bronx, New York; the Liberty Tool Corporation of John Cipkala; Stoneybrook Florist of Nicholas Macura; the Rose Beauty Shop of Mary Pirhala; and many others. The Bridgeport community has also produced medical doctors, nurses, lawyers, educators, numerous businessmen, and outstanding sports people, such as Joseph Vancisin who has been Yale University's basketball coach since 1956.

Although the days of the old east side ethnic community where the Carpatho-Rusyns first made their homes in Bridgeport are over, the memories are rich in the hearts and minds of the descendants of the immigrants. Amidst all the difficulties of that time, there was a special peace and calm, rare in today's world; a feeling of pride in the cleanliness and safety of one's community; a close, family-like relationship among neighbors of the same language and the same blood. But let us not forget the hardships of early immigrant life—they were numerous. May the descendants of the Bridgeport Carpatho-Rusyn community always remember the sacrifices of the first immigrants, and strive to fulfill their ancestors' dreams of a better life in this country.

LANGUAGE

As we have mentioned before in this section, Carpatho-Rusyn has no single standard literary language, but consists of several related dialects. The dialects differ somewhat from village to village. Thus, if you have had contact with one dialect from your parents or grandparents, you may have learned a slightly different version of the words that are presented here. These examples are from the village of Vyšná Jablonka which is located completely within Carpatho-Rusyn linguistic territory and is not greatly influenced by Slovak dialects.

Good-bye.	Z Bóhom. (literally: God be with you.) — (Zbóh-hohm.)
Have a good trip.	Ščastlývu dráhu. (Shchahst-lý-voo dráh-hoo.)
Be careful.	Uvažájte na sébe. (Oo-vah-zháhy-teh nah séh-beh.)
Take care.	Merkújte na sébe. (Mehr-kóoy-teh nah séh-beh.)
Please come in.	Prószu dále. (Próh-shoo dáh-leh.)
Let me have your coat.	Prószu dájte gérok dólu. (Próh-shoo dáhy-teh géh-rohk dóh-loo.)

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PILGRIMAGE

It was the last weekend in October, the final few glorious days of this year's lengthy autumn. My parents, who now live in Indiana, and I were in Cleveland for a short visit. This is the city to which both sets of my grandparents eventually gravitated some years after immigrating from Eastern Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus', and in which I had grown up. We decided early Saturday morning to stop at St. Theodosius Orthodox Cemetery where my mother's parents were buried. I had always harbored a peculiarly warm feeling about this cemetery with its curious, tiny chapel, motley gravestones, and Greek- and Russian-style stone crosses tilted every which way depending on how the damp earth had chosen to settle in the course of the seasons. Now, after a long stretch of time, I wanted to return, to explore the corners so familiar to me from early childhood.

We used to come here frequently to tend my grandfather's grave. He had died only four months before my birth, but had always been alive to me in the stories and anecdotes related by my mother. While my parents and grandmother would cut grass, pull weeds, and plant flowers, my brother John and I were free to roam among the graves, fascinated by the Cyrillic, Greek, and occasionally Arabic script, entranced by the shiny, round photographic reproductions of the buried people attached to the stone monuments just above their names. These were pictures from earlier days—weddings, anniversaries—smiling faces, solemn and stately poses.

One in particular awed us. This was a single small stone marking the grave of a striking man in military garb, handsome in the Old World sense, with a marvelous handlebar mustache and a broad chest adorned with countless medals of honor. He had died in 1949, and his inscription read "Petar Zebic, The Strongest Man in the World, Vječnja pamjat'." John and I never failed to make a pilgrimage to Petar's grave. We would stand and study the photograph in deep silence, and only then move on.

Sometimes we would race out to the field adjacent to the cemetery which had been long ago planted with fruit trees and delicate white birches. Our grandmother Anna, her eyes glistening with a faraway look, would tell us that in the homeland people perceived birches as representing the Virgin Mary, the unwed Mother of God. The birches became even dearer to me. At the same time, I tried to imagine that homeland. Where was it? What was it like? Running from tree to tree in the field, I pretended to be there myself.

John and I wandered further, particularly touched by the graves of babies—little Vasil Zajac, Roman Barna, and others—at whose plots parents or relatives had left small toys. We tried hard to keep to the base of each grave site, both those which were well-kept as well as those gone to weed, since we had been taught that to stamp about over the actual grave was extremely disrespectful. But Grandmother always added that when she lay next to Dido someday, we should run and dance on the ground above her so that she could hear us and rejoice in our lives.

When Anna passed away in 1956, she was placed next to her husband Mychajlo. The young birch tree we had planted in our yard for her during her painful illness died soon after. We came to the cemetery more often then. After helping to weed and clean up, and when my parents had strolled off to visit the graves of other relatives, I would sit or even lie down on Anna's grave, feeling below my body the fragrant warm earth, just as I had often lain as a small child next to her, comforted by her abundant peasant warmth.

I was never afraid to be at the cemetery. Even at night it was not a forbidding place. When driving by, we could see dozens of red vigil lamps flickering in the dark stillness. They had been lit already during the day, but it took darkness for us to enjoy their homey, welcome glow. This was not a place to fear. It was a place where the living came not simply to deposit and mourn the dead, but to share with the dead the mystery of eternal life, somehow symbolized in those eternal vigil lamps. I recall visiting the cemetery soon after Pascha one year with my mother, only to come across a group of Kuban Cossacks who had spread out their Pascha meal on the grave of a comrade. They talked about the past, poured wine into the soil by the gravestone, and placed intricately decorated eggs along the base of the stone. They invited us to share a glass of wine in honor of their brother whose picture I will never forget—a dark-haired, dark-browned man with mysterious, flashing dark eyes—named Nikolaj Sekret, Nicholas the Secret One. What wealth of life experience lay beyond that proud stare? Why was he the Secret One?

So, here we were again at the cemetery, visiting Nikolaj, Petar, Anna and Mychajlo, and other relatives. Some things had changed. The old wooden tool shed was gone, replaced by a larger brick structure to serve better the same purpose. The "end line" of grave sites had advanced by several rows. The gentle birches still held their own. The sky was crystal autumn blue, the air brisk, leaves floated down covering gravestones and plots, crackling beneath our feet. My mother reminisced about her parents and their friends—the immigrants—and the extraordinary stories of their simple lives. In among the shady plots, we found little groups of dew-strewn mushrooms, "pinkies" or *podpenkȳ,* as my parents called them, an edible delicacy which they used to pick in their childhood. And sure enough, at a distance away from us, there was sweet old Mr. Dorko wandering about with a paper bag, choosing the best ones for delicious meals to come. Truly, I thought, this is indeed a place where living and dead commune, where the living offer their meal to the dead, and the dead yield up the fruit of the earth to the living.

Before leaving, we said our traditional prayer at the grave of Anna and Mychajlo, the calm eyes in their photographs ever gazing at a point somewhere quite beyond us, possessing a knowledge yet unknown to us. For the hundredth time, I was struck by the inscription on their stone, an inscription I have never seen anywhere else and have no idea from where it was taken, if anywhere. It is not "Eternal Memory." It is something as simple and as warm and as joyfully vital as the Damp Mother Earth of East Slavic folklore. As we were leaving, it echoed through my mind over and over. The hours part us but bring us together again.

Patricia Krafcik

MICHAIL BALUDJANSKIJ (1769-1847)

When one thinks about the Carpatho-Rusyn immigration, one usually has in mind the New World, especially the United States, where several thousand immigrants settled during the three decades before World War I. But for more than two centuries, Carpatho-Rusyns have been emigrating from their mountainous homeland. In earlier times they usually went south, to lands that are now part of Yugoslavia, or east, to Ukraine and Russia. The emigration to the east was often on an individual basis, and during the first decade of the nineteenth century a group of Carpatho-Rusyns went to the Russian Empire where they soon rose to leading positions in that country.

The most famous among them was Michail Andrejovič Baludjanskij. Baludjanskij (whose name is sometimes rendered as Balugjanskij) was born in 1769 in the Carpatho-Rusyn village of Vyšná Olšavka (Šariš county), near Bardejov in present-day northeastern Slovakia. His father, Andrej, was a Greek Catholic priest, who sent the young boy to further his education in Sátoraljaújhely, Košice, and finally to the law faculty of the University of Vienna. During his student years, Baludjanskij was exposed to the newest ideas of the Enlightenment and he befriended several liberal Hungarian intellectuals. After completing his studies in 1789, the barely twenty year old Baludjanskij was appointed professor of political thought at the Hungarian academy in Nagyvárad (today Oradea in Romania). Then in 1796, he was awarded a doctorate in law and made dean of the law faculty at Budapest University. During these years he continued to participate in Hungarian political life, but when a secret organization of revolutionaries was uncovered in 1795, the subsequent police investigations revealed that Baludjanskij was a sympathizer of the illegal group. The resultant unfavorable political atmosphere in Hungary, as well as the urging of his Carpatho-Rusyn countryman, Ivan S. Orlaj, who had emigrated to Russia, convinced Baludjanskij that it might be a good idea to leave the country. In February 1804, he arrived with his family in St. Petersburg, the capital of the Russian Empire.

The Russian government was at that time undertaking a series of reforms which included the creation of a secular system of higher education. Lacking its own scholars, tsarist officials looked abroad, especially to fellow Slavs living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Several scholars were invited and a group of Carpatho-Rusyns led by Orlaj accepted the offers. None, however, achieved success so rapidly as did Baludjanskij.

Already in his first year he was made professor of political theory at the newly formed St. Petersburg Pedagogical Institute, he was appointed to several governmental commissions, and he began to publish the first of numerous studies on the economic and administrative structure of the Russian Empire. In recognition of his achievements, Tsar Aleksandr I awarded him the Order of St. Vladimir in 1810, and assigned him (together with Vasyl' Kukol'nyk—another Carpatho-Rusyn) to serve as tutor (1813–1817) to the tsar's son, the future Nicholas I. When Russia's first university was founded in St. Petersburg in 1819, Baludjanskij was named its first rector.

But Baludjanskij's greatest contributions lay in the codification of Russian law. Working closely with Count Michail Speranskij, a tsarist minister, Baludjanskij became the main organizer and contributor to the 45-volume *Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire* (1830) and the 15-volume *Digest of Laws of the Russian Empire* (1833).

Although a reactionary change in the Russian government forced Baludjanskij to resign as rector (1821) and professor (1824) at St. Petersburg University, he nonetheless continued after 1825 to serve the new tsar, his former student Nicholas I, as his advisor and as a member of several state commissions. In the last years of his life, Baludjanskij made several trips abroad (1828, 1830, 1845), in particular to the famous Bohemian spa at Karlový Vary (Karlsbad), where he tried to improve his failing health. He died in April 1847, and was buried alongside other famous servants of the tsar in the Alexander Nevsky Monastery in St. Petersburg (today Leningrad). Baludjanskij's achievements are remembered in the history of Russian education and law, and he is an outstanding example of a Carpatho-Rusyn immigrant who attained well-deserved success in a foreign land.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE CARPATHO-RUSYNS

In Part 2 of this article, the author began discussing the crucial turning points in the past history of Subcarpathian Rus', the last point being the Kúruc rebellions aimed at Habsburg rule. The rebellions culminated in the unsuccessful uprising led by Transylvanian Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II at the beginning of the eighteenth century, in which Rusyns took part and which left their countryside damaged.—Editor.

(Part 3)

(5) The fifth important sequence of events also began in the seventeenth century, when the Hungarian government and Roman Catholic hierarchy, anxious to extend effective control over the whole country, turned to the Orthodox Rusyn population. Why, they thought, should there be Orthodox adherents in a Roman Catholic country? They realized that direct conversion to Roman Catholicism was impractical, so instead they followed the example of Poland, which in the late sixteenth century had established a special Uniate or Greek Catholic Church for its own Orthodox populous. Similarly, at Užhorod in 1649, the Greek Catholic Church was created for Carpatho-Rusyns. This meant that the old traditions, such as use of the Slavonic liturgy, Julian calendar, and married priesthood, were maintained, while on the other hand the ultimate head of the new church was the Pope in Rome.

The church union helped to improve educational standards in the region: new liturgical and school texts were printed and some young priests were sent to Rome and other Catholic universities for higher education. The fifteenth-century monastery at Černeča Hora, near Mukačevo, continued to be a Subcarpathian cultural center, although under a Greek Catholic not Orthodox aegis. In the late eighteenth century, the cultural and religious center for Carpatho-Rusyns was moved to Užhorod, with the bishop's seat nearby at the Greek Catholic Cathedral. Thus, by the early nineteenth century, the educated segment of Subcarpathian society—still largely clergy—was basically within the realm of western culture.

(6) The next crucial date was 1848, when a revolution broke out in Vienna and soon spread throughout the whole Habsburg Empire. The old government was removed and soon a new Emperor came to the throne—the young eighteen-year-old Franz Joseph—who was destined to reign sixty-eight years until his death in 1916. In the course of these revolutionary events, many of the Empire's Slavic peoples made political and cultural demands, while in Hungary a full-scale revolution led by Lajos Kossuth resulted in the declaration of an independent republic in April, 1849.

The Carpatho-Rusyns also entered the political scene for the first time. This was due primarily to the activity of Adol'f Dobrianskij. Dobrianskij worked very closely with both Slovaks and Rusyns in Galicia and met several times with Emperor Franz Joseph and other ministers in Vienna. He wanted cultural and political autonomy for the Carpatho-Rusyns, and like other Slav leaders he looked to the Viennese imperial government for help. At that very moment, the Hungarians were struggling against the Habsburg armies in a fight to the death. In such a context, figures like Dobrianskij, with their demands for Rusyn rights were not looked upon with favor by the Hungarians. In fact, Emperor Franz Joseph had to call on the Russian armies of Tsar Nicholas I to crush the Hungarian revolution, and it was Dobrianskij himself who served as the Austrian envoy to those armies. Hence, while Rusyns were making some political and cultural advances (especially through the work of the writer Aleksander Duchnovyč), they were directly associated with the force which was to annihilate all hopes for Hungarian independence. This combination of events was not to bode well for Carpatho-Rusyn development in the future.

(7) In fact, the real decline in Rusyn life began after 1867-1868. At this time the Dual Monarchy, known as the Austro-Hungarian Empire, came into existence. The Empire was basically made up of two parts. One part consisted of seventeen provinces among which were Tyrol, Upper and Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Bukovina. Representatives of these provinces met in a Parliament in Vienna and together they were referred to as Austria. The other half consisted of the Hungarian Kingdom, ruled since the eighteenth century more or less from the Emperor's court in Vienna. Finally, after several bloody revolutions against the Habsburgs, the Hungarians got what they wanted in 1868—virtual self-rule government within their own kingdom. Nonetheless, Hungarian ruling circles continued to be worried. As a result of recent censuses, it was revealed that the Magyars—the politically and socially dominant group—were actually a minority in their own country. Thus, the Magyar rulers remained uneasy, and were haunted by the prophetic words of the German philosopher, Herder, spoken in 1791: "Now among the Slavs, Germans, Romanians, and other peoples, the Magyars are the smaller part of the territory's population, and after a century perhaps one will hardly hear their language anymore."

A minority in their own country? And after the long struggle against Vienna to obtain self-government. What were the Magyar rulers to do? To assure their supremacy, they embarked upon a policy of magyarization, which simply meant the transformation of non-Magyar nationalities into Magyars. The result was a precipitous decline in the national life of smaller peoples like the Slovaks and Carpatho-Rusyns, so that by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, impartial observers were predicting that these peoples soon would no longer exist.

(To be continued)

Paul R. Magocsi

St. Nicholas Monastery on Černeča Hora (Monk's Hill), near Mukačevo

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Duklja, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1-6 (Prešov, 1975), 80 p. each issue.

Duklja is the Ukrainian language literary and socio-cultural organ of the Cultural Society of Ukrainian Workers (KSUT) in Czechoslovakia. It appears six time a year. Like previous volumes, the present one contains primarily new literary works by authors from the Prešov Region, as well as a few political essays, book reviews, necrologies, and scholarly articles. Among the latter are: a study by Illja Vološčuk on Carpatho-Rusyns who served in the Czechoslovak Army Corps that was organized in the Soviet Union during World War Two; Mychajlo Hyrjak's history of folk song collecting in the Prešov Region; and M. Symylyk's study of the Second World War Carpatho-Rusyn author D. Vakarov.

Hapak, Stepan. *Obrazotvorče mystectvo ukrajinciv Čechoslovaččyny, 1918-1945* (Fine Art Among the Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia, 1918-1945). Bratislava and Prešov: Slovac'ke pedagogične vyd., viddil ukrajins'koji literatury, 1975, 172 p.

This small monograph is a slightly revised version of an article published by the same author in 1968. Its three chapters provide a descriptive history of Carpatho-Rusyn artists in Subcarpathian Rus' and the Prešov Region, Ukrainian artists in Bohemia, and Czech artists in Subcarpathian Rus' and the Prešov Region. No less than 85 pages contain black and white reproductions of paintings; it is unfortunate that these (including the excellent works of Bokšaj, Erdeli, Kondratovyč, and Manajlo) are so poorly reproduced that it is impossible in most cases even to approximate what the original may have looked like.

Kasinec, Edward. "The Carpatho-Ruthenian Immigration in the United States: A Note on Sources in Some United States Repositories," Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute Offprint Series, No. 6 (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 12 p.

The author provides an idea of the three kinds of libraries (Seminary and Monastic, Research, and Personal) that hold significant collections of materials on Carpatho-Rusyn immigrant history.

(Available from the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center for $2.00).

Kostel'nyk, Havryjil. *Proza na bačvansko-srymskym ruskym lyteraturnym jazyku* (Prose in the Bačka-Srem Rusyn Literary Language). Novi Sad: Ruske Slovo, 1975, 376 p.

Havryjil Kostel'nyk (1886-1948) is the Aleksander Duchnovyč of the Bačka/Vojvodinian Rusyns of Yugoslavia. It was Kostel'nyk who first standardized the regional Carpatho-Rusyn dialect which is today the literary language of Yugoslavia's Rusyns. *Proza* is the second volume of the author's writings that are recently being republished. His collected *Poetry* appeared in 1970.

The present volume includes 10 short stories, 2 reviews, 6 essays, 3 chronicles, 3 linguistic works, and 4 letters of Kostel'nyk. A forward appears under the pen of the volume's editor, Djura Papharhaji. Perhaps the most valuable part is the reprinting of Kostel'nyk's rare *Hramatyka bačvan'skorusky bešedy* (1923), the first standardization of the Vojvodinian (Bačka) Rusyn language.

Maču, Pavel. "National Assimilation: The Case of the Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia," *East Central Europe,* Vol. II, No. 2 (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1975), pp. 101-132.

This is the most objective analysis of the post-1945 history of Carpatho-Rusyns in the Prešov Region. The author argues that the decline, or more precisely the assimilation, in the size of the Rusyn population by more than two-thirds is due to three factors that occurred during the early 1950s: nationalization of private land, destruction of the Greek Catholic Church, and most especially the forced implementation of a Ukrainian nationality policy. Because of these developments, most local Rusyns prefer to identify themselves as Slovaks.

(Available from the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center for $2.50).

Magocsi, Paul R. "The Ruthenian Decision to Unite with Czechoslovakia," *Slavic Review,* Vol. XXXIV, No. 2 (Seattle, Wash., 1975), pp. 360-381.

This is the most comprehensive discussion available of the complex period of late 1918-early 1919, when several national councils were founded in the Carpatho-Rusyn homeland. Each favored a different political solution, but it was the Czechoslovak orientation that was finally accepted in May, 1919.

(Available from the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center for $2.00).

FOLK LIFE AND LORE

The Carpatho-Rusyn Wedding: Part 2.

On the day of the wedding the *starosta* (senior spokesman), *svašky* (matrons of honor), *družby* (ushers), and musicians all arrive at the home of the groom as the first rays of sun pierce the darkness. The musicians begin playing and there is much singing as the groom is prepared by his ushers. They shave him, comb his hair, and shine his boots. The groom dances his last dance with his *družby*, then in a farewell episode he seeks his parents' forgiveness and blessing while kneeling before each one. They bless and kiss him. After all the farewells, the wedding procession starts on its way to the home of the bride. The procession is led by a special wedding flag which is said to symbolize the star of Bethlehem which was followed by the wise men of the East in order to find the Christ Child. The wedding party sings all the way to the bride's home.

The *družky* (bridesmaids) prepare the bride as others finish the last cooking before the wedding. They fix the bride in every little detail, but before they are finished the bride has a last dance with them. Soon the groom's family arrives singing and the bride's family joins in. The bride is all done up and beautiful. She kneels before her parents asking forgiveness and receives a blessing, a kiss, and a special round bread (like a pascha shaped with a hole in the middle), which symbolizes the hope that the new couple will never be hungry.

In these early morning ceremonies there is a custom from ancient times in which the *starosta* and *peršyj družba* (the best man) each make the sign of the cross, take a hatchet, and make a mark on the doorway to stop any evil spirit from joining the wedding party. The wedding procession then leaves for the church. It is usually in the same village, so they may walk a mile or two, singing as they go. Everyone is dressed in their Holy Day finery. They form a very colorful and musical wedding procession to church.

The church ceremony is of the ancient eastern rite of Byzantium combined with many centuries of East Slav liturgical growth and customs. The church singing is the native Carpatho-Rusyn *prostopinije* (plainchant). The priest is dressed in elaborate vestments complimentary to the occasion. He will greet the wedding party in the vestibule of the church and lead the wedding procession into the church as the 127th Psalm is sung. The *starša svaška* (matron of honor) carries an extremely valuable handmade cover called a *ručnyk*. The priest blesses the *ručnyk* and spreads it for the bride and groom to kneel on. After the ceremony the *perša družka* (maid of honor) will carry it to the home of the newly married. The couple will now kneel as the ceremony progresses, holding one candle lit by the priest. It symbolizes their unity in Jesus Christ, the light of the world. The couple will receive wedding rings, which symbolize their exclusive commitment to each other. Also, the ring is a circle without beginning or end which represents the nature of God's eternal love to which they are called.

The couple will make marriage vows with their hands on the Book of Gospels, and will be crowned in marriage. The crowns are the sign of God's blessing on this couple, because it is truly God who unites man and woman. The crowns contain three more meanings: (1) the crowns of royalty—in marriage the husband and wife become king and queen of a new unit in society, a new family, a little church; (2) the crowns of martyrdom—man and woman become a witness of God's undying love as they journey through life growing and suffering, rejoicing and loving; (3) the crowns of the Kingdom—marriage grows and finds its fulfillment in the kingdom of God.

The couple then receives the Eucharist and their marriage is sealed in ultimate union with Christ and the Church. After the ceremony the priest leads the couple three times around the center table. The meaning here is to invoke the protection of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, so that the spirit of evil will not accompany them in their life together. This custom was for centuries extremely important to people who lived far away from the church. Farmers and especially Rusyn shepherds throughout the Carpathians had difficulty attending church regularly because of work seasons, distance, and stormy weather. Nonetheless, they believed they were protected by God and the sanctity of His Church through this religious custom at the marriage.

As she comes out of the church, the bride is wrapped in a white *chustka* (a shawl or cape) to signify she is already a wife. In front of the church the newlyweds are greeted with many waving hands and joyous shouts of 'Ješče naša, zavtra vaša" (she's still ours, but tomorrow she'll be yours). Soon little groups of people start singing and the musicians join in. Full of elation, the bridal party proceeds to the bride's house.

(To be continued)

Jerry Jumba
Music Director and Choreographer
Slavjane Folk Ensemble

OUR FRONT COVERS

In response to the request of several readers we identify below the pictures that have appeared in our first four issues. Future issues will identify all first page photographs.

No. 1: Wayside Cross, near Koločava Horb (Transcarpathian Oblast', Soviet Ukraine), photographed in 1925.

No. 2: Church of the Archangel Michael, Krajnykovo (Transcarpathian Oblast'), photographed 1921.

No. 3: Women in Traditional Hucul Dress, Jasynja (Transcarpathian Oblast'), photographed 1920.

No. 4: Church of St. Nicholas, Zboj (eastern Slovakia), photographed 1921.

Amherst, Massachusetts. On April 14, 1978, the New England Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies held a two-day scholarly conference at the University of Massachusetts. A panel was devoted to Slavic immigrants in the United States, at which a paper was delivered by Dr. Zack Deal of Vanderbilt University. He analyzed the *Amerikansky Russky Viestnik* and the rise of Rusyn national consciousness between 1914 and 1920. Special emphasis was devoted to Michael Hančin, editor of this important Rusyn-American newspaper between those years.

New York City. On April 16, 1978, Harvard University Press sponsored a literary evening to announce the appearance of its recent publication, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948,* by Dr. Paul R. Magocsi. The guest of honor was the Honorable Julian Revay, former Subcarpathian deputy in the Czechoslovak Parliament (1935-38) and minister in the Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomous government (1938-39). Before an audience of 60 people, including representatives of New York educational and cultural institutions, the author presented an autographed copy of the book to Mr. Revay, who in his remarks expressed great satisfaction that a distinguished American university publisher like Harvard University Press would undertake such a monumental work about his former homeland.
(*The Shaping of a National Identity,* 640 pages, is available from the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center at the special price of $21.00, postage included).

Edison, N.J. and Sybertsville, Pa. On May 16 and 17, Dr. Paul R. Magocsi addressed two groups of clergy participating in the Continuing Education Program of the Byzantine Rite Catholic Diocese of Passaic. The Harvard scholar's talk, "Ethnicity and the Byzantine Rite Catholic Church," provoked lively discussion about the role and attitude that church organizations (which once were or still are ethnically based) should adopt toward the rise of interest in ethnicity in the United States today.

Columbus, Ohio. On October 4, 1978, a report on the current state of Carpatho-Rusyn language teaching in the United States was delivered at a panel entitled "Meeting the Needs of the Minor Slavic Languages," held at Ohio State University at the Tenth National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. It was pointed out that Carpatho-Rusyn had been taught for three years (1974-1977) at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh and for one semester (1978) at Temple University in Philadelphia. Recommendations, which are being forwarded in a memorandum to the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, call for new courses and support to publish Carpatho-Rusyn language textbooks. The report, written by Dr. Paul R. Magocsi (Harvard University) and read in his absence by Professor William Derbyshire (Rutgers University), will be published in a future issue of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American.*

McKeesport, Pennsylvania. St. Nicholas Byzantine Catholic Church has announced the formation of a parish folk group—"the Rusyny"—as of June, 1978. With the support of Father Stephen Veselenak and the guidance of Mr. Jerry Jumba, the group presented its first performance at the McKeesport International Village Folk Festival on August 23, 1978. The ensemble, which is largely intended for family participation, received an enthusiastic ovation from the 4000 spectators.

Bronx, New York City. The latest issue of *Diakonia* (Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1978), published by John XXIII Center of Fordham University, includes an extensive review of a series of lectures (published on 4 cassettes) that were presented at the seminar on Carpatho-Ruthenia held at the Monastery of Mount Saint Macrina, in Uniontown, Pa., in August, 1975. The reviewer, Rev. Robert Taft, S.J., who himself is an internationally renown Byzantinist, writes: "These lectures are an example of how serious research into ethnic history and culture can be popular in the sense of intelligible and enriching for the broader public. . . . They contain a feast of information, presented in a vivid and interesting form: a veritable course in *Ruthenica* providing several hours of effortless and profitable education for those of us that love and respect this heroic people and the heritage they have so tenaciously preserved in this country against almost overwhelming odds." (The 4 cassettes are available from the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center for $15.00.)

Cleveland, Ohio. On October 27, 1978, during the Ninth World Congress of the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences, Patricia Krafcik of Columbia University, presented a paper in the symposium "Women in Retrospect and Perspective" entitled "The Carpatho-Rusyn-American Woman: Her Role in the Preservation of an Ethnic Culture." After discussing the concept of ethnicity as applied to the United States, and particularly with reference to the descendants of pre-World War I peasant immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe, Ms. Krafcik noted the mechanics of the transmission of ethnicity within the family, and specifically with regard to the activities of women, who constitute the center of the household. This study will appear in future issues of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American.*

TO OUR READERS: If you have news of events contributing to the preservation of Carpatho-Rusyn ethnic culture in your local community which you would like to share, please send it to the editor.

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